1: Garrett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

standing the inconvenience of this head-gear, and the 271
boldness which it causes, it is said to be worn even at
night, little pillows being used to support it.

The dress of the peasant women is similar in form,
but is invariably made of blue cotton stuffs; the
tekeroukhie, or cloak, is of a darker shade of blue, with
white stripes round the bottom, the corners being
knotted across the breast or shoulder; and a small
cap is worn on the head, the hair curling about the
face.

Though nominally Moslems, the Kurdish women 271
do not veil themselves very strictly when abroad. In 542
large towns like Sulimaniah the ladies wear a blue
checked sheet, and a screen of black horsehair, like
the Turkish women of the interior. This is, however,
seldom pulled down, except by ladies of the highest
rank, who may wish to pass through the streets
incognito; and the lower class women generally go
about with their faces uncovered. The village women
veil themselves when they leave their houses; and
the nomads, when on the march, partially screen their
faces with a cotton kerchief or scarf. Messengers 191 •
are not, as with the Turks, excluded from the rooms 179
occupied by the ladies of the house, and male visitors
are freely received by the assembled family.

Notwithstanding, however, this apparent freedom 191
of manners, Kurdish women conduct themselves with 542
the utmost dignity and propriety, displaying neither
the timidity common to the Armenians, nor the for-
wardness too often seen in the behaviour of the
Osmanlis. Their standard of morality is, indeed, 434
exceptionally high among the races of the country.

brought in by government officials and their wives, but it is not obvious. Clapping the hands to summon a servant, rarely encountered in a typical Kurdish household, or prohibiting them the use of the toilet facilities of the master are the two most pointed examples. However, servants even in this category understand little of the servile behavior associated with those of the city. "It is comical," said an official. "My servant speaks to me like an old friend, and often tells me what to do. When I try to curse him for something, he argues with me and tells me that I am the one who is wrong. On the other hand, he never steals anything, and tells everyone in the neighborhood what a great man I am."

The service of others is by no means strange or uncommon in Kurdistan, but in the country the concept of a servant is that of a family retainer, a person of the second category and not a wage-earner or a menial, who receives food and lodging, and occasionally "gifts" of money, and who, while in no sense a party to the realities of inheritance or marriage, is to most purposes a member of the family. Indeed, the exchange of kinship terms, such as khal, "uncle," or xalt, "aunt," with such a retainer is commonplace, similar to our own "Uncle" Remus or "Aunt" Hagy prior to the Civil War. Almost all of these people come from the villages, and their residence in Rowanduz is only temporary, although it may be repeated again and again. Many of the women have quarreled with their

husbands, and welcome a respite of a few weeks. To give an example, Shakir Effendi owns extensive village lands and is well known to his tenants. Throughout the year persons, for a variety of reasons, appear at his house in Rowanduz to take service for a short time and then to return to their villages. Lali Khan always has ten or fifteen such retainers, many of them women. "It would be a grave mistake to call Lali Khan's people servants," one was told, "because it would bring the whole House of Isma'il Beg after one as an insult. You see that she dresses them up in fine clothing and covers the women with gold." Of such retainers, it remains to mention those who serve as bodyguards (gholam, from Arabic, "servant," sometimes shubang). Just as barbarian Germanic chieftains in ancient times had the practice of surrounding themselves with bands of warrior "companions," the Kurdish chieftain attracts a following, varying in size with his wealth and importance, who are accorded the same treatment as retainers, save that they are armed and usually exempted from menial tasks. They are typically young men, impatient with village life and desirous of the prestige that surrounds an armed guard, and form a formidable group, those who carry out the work and sustain most of the casualties of the vendetta. There are a dozen or so resident in Rowanduz. The House of Isma'il Beg has a number, that of Sadiq Agha and his brother As'ad Agha several, and Karim Agha, son of the imprisoned Nuri Bawil Agha, only one. Except in degree of permanence, there is no particular

line of division between these retainers and the professional servants spoken of first, and this explains why the officials and officers, to their annoyance and amusement, are treated more as the heads of Kurdish households rather than as employers. 957 592

If, of all these occupations of the townspeople, there is one which has greater importance, it is that of the merchants, for they, more than any others, in supplying the needs of the householders of both town and villages, in furnishing the necessary capital for larger transactions, in acting as the primary channels of commercial activity, make up the backbone of the town as a mercantile center. Of these, three general types have been listed, the itinerant trader (ster), the general merchant, and the wholesaler. The first group is the most numerous, and, in general, lacks the capital and resource of the second and third. The business of the ster is fairly simple. He applies to a merchant, usually a wholesaler, for a loan, and, if granted, receives it in goods or in money to be so converted. Equipped with wares, he departs from Rowanduz for several weeks or a month in the villages, during which he sells his materials to the villagers. With the money thus realized, he may either return directly to Rowanduz, or invest it in village produce, such as wool, skins, or poultry, which will bring further profit in the town. In any case, however, the profits of the itinerant traders are not excessive, for not only must they support themselves and their families, but assure the merchants of some return 443 [554] [426]

CHAPTER VI

THE FAMILY

In treating the families of Rowanduz, it is unnecessary to describe in detail those of the official class, for the officials and officers are of diverse ethnic origins, Arab, Kurd, and Turk, and they are often unmarried or unaccompanied by their wives. Even when settled temporarily in the town with a spouse, they represent only in part the larger social units to which they belong elsewhere in Iraq. None of the officials and officers has yet made Rowanduz a permanent residence. It is thus possible, making reference to the officials whenever necessary, to direct attention to the Kurdish populace, aristocrats and commoners. It has been chosen to treat the family of a wealthy merchant as typical, and to draw comparisons with others from this central treatment.

It is important at the outset to define what is understood by the Kurdish "family." For the townspeople, the term most regularly used is mal, "house," (perhaps from Arabic, mal, "property"). The word is alternately used for the physical structure itself or for the group of kindred to be found in such a dwelling. Postmarital residence is normally patrilocal, the groom taking his bride to his father's house or to a new dwelling furnished

is seem likely that this is only permissible after the 605
two have been engaged to be married. 584

The relations between husband and wife are highly 593
variable, depending greatly on the personalities involved. [651]
In moslim theory, a wife should be submissive, obeying
her husband's wishes as though they were commands and ob-
serving the same type of deference exhibited to her father.
The husband is able to punish her, perhaps by beating, as
he might his own child. Reality, however, is otherwise,
for there are wives who fulfill this ideal and others who
do not, and there appears to be little correspondence be-
tween status in situations in which the wife achieves a
dominant position over her husband. The status of a bride [651]
within the family is greatly strengthened by the birth of
her first son, and she may thereafter command much greater
attention and respect from her husband and relatives by
marriage. She may be tyrannized by her mother-in-law until [604]
this event takes place. Similarly, separations or divorces [586]
are less frequent after the birth of a male heir. The [592]
wife is the mistress of her household and receives money
from the husband for its maintenance. As the recipient
of the dowry and an heir of her parents, she enjoys a
certain amount of potential independence. Beyond these
remarks it is difficult to go further. A number of
marriages were described in which the women quietly assumed
almost dictatorial powers over their husbands and their
households. A daughter of the aristocracy, by virtue of
her father's rank, appears to be much less liable to

ill-treatment than one of lesser status. 593

The department required of a man toward his relatives by marriage depends to some extent on whether or not the two families are related. If, for example, he has married the daughter of his father's brother, he is much more intimate with his parents-in-law and their other children. In other cases, he must behave with greater reserve, and, if he accompanies his wife on a visit to her parental home, does not enjoy absolute freedom of the house. As noted above, he may address his relatives by marriage by the terms he uses for his own parents, brothers, and sisters. Similarly, a woman who has wed into a strange <u>mû</u> is initially placed at some disadvantage, although, of course, she may circulate freely in the household. She becomes much more intimate with her husband's relatives than he with hers. In time, particularly after the birth of her first son, a wife can achieve a position of dominance in her husband's family. Through her influence, a man is often called upon to alleviate his relatives by marriage if they are in distress and to take them into his own house if orphaned. 606 607

The presence of servants in the wealthier households and the manner in which they regard themselves as members of the family has already been noticed. The household servants may be married or unmarried, but there must never be any question of sexual relations between them and their employers. A woman, more in the occasional case of a 957 [834] 589 597

earthly wishes, never lives alone, and rarely remains unmarried for any length of time. It would be virtually impossible for her to have an unmarried man in her service in the face of popular opinion. It is much the same with a bachelor living alone, for the townspeople would never countenance his engaging a maid, even if he could find one. The same holds true of an unmarried person living with a family to which he is not related. The investigator lived for a time with the family of a merchant, superficially separated from them by a wall of blankets, and a certain segment of neighborhood opinion let it be known that this householder had sacrificed the honor of his family for the sum of the rental. The merchant informed the investigator that he was convinced that the latter, as a gentleman, had no evil intention toward his womenfolk and that the wall of blanketing was for "the neighbors" rather than any practical purpose of segregation. This, incidentally, provided him with an excuse for charging a slightly higher amount than necessary. It is also interesting that, after the rooms had been engaged, several invitations were received, accompanied by expostulations, to stay as a guest with other families, deferred until this time. Almost all of these unmarried, the teachers and lower officials, must hire houses and male servants of their own. There are a few exceptions. The prisoners, unaccompanied by his wife, lived alone, and had several persons, including a widow, in his service. The superiority of his position, coupled with the fact that he was already married,

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shielded him from any gossip. If one is married and accompanied by his spouse, her vigilance is considered sufficient and servants of any condition may be added to the household.

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Friendships contracted outside the pai, as outlined in the discussion of society, are, in childhood, formed between persons of comparable social status. A few lasting alliances may arise in childhood or adolescence, but most appear when the persons concerned have become adults. For all classes of society, only the men are free to associate with their friends in public. "A good friend helps one in distress with money, clothing, or food. The two friends visit each other almost every day, sitting together and discussing business or politics. If one of them is a bachelor and is subsequently married, the other acts as his "servant," receiving guests and completing the arrangements of the wedding." Male companions of this sort visit with each other in the hanut or the mosque, and exchange calls at their houses. Within the house, a friend is entertained in the divankhane or guest-room, apart from the women, until, perhaps, both are married and the friendship is of long duration. Only under these last conditions is a man able to associate freely with his comrade's womenfolk. An old custom is sometimes observed between youths, a formalized exchange of kneel and salt, termed nimek, within the house. If two male friends have not met for a long period, they greet by kissing each

349 a ramp forming the exterior edge of each step. These steps are exceptionally high and narrow[1]. Some of the houses in Sabbarani in which I had an opportunity to live were built of sundried clay bricks, others were made of fired bricks which nowadays are being increasingly adopted. Most of them had only one storey and the same flat clay roof as in the villages. When the clay brick walls are replaced by walls of fired brick, the clay roof was retained, though without the projecting eaves, as walls of burnt brick did not require the same protection from the winter rain as do clay walls. The one-storeyed houses had a staircase which, with high steps, led direct from the courtyard to the first floor, where the family rooms were situated—an Iranian architectural element—which was found repeated in a luxury model of sun-dried clay brick in the village of Sargahi, incidentally the most distinguished building, the residence of the sheikh.

THE FUNCTION OF THE DWELLING

[21] Having reviewed the practical side of the dwelling's construction, we shall now proceed to its form and function as the framework of women's life within the two different feminine environments.

As an example of the residential types surrounding the women of the village aristocracy, Sheikh Ta'lat's property in the village of Tajarane will be taken, and for that of the ordinary peasant woman a quite small house in Sabbe. The two urban environments, the "communal" and "unchanged" were found within the walls of a single house, that of my interpreter's family at Sabbarani. The pattern of that house will be supplemented by features from other dwellings in that town and in Kirkuk, beforehand by women representing both strata.

● 592 Sheikh Ta'lat's house at Tajarane is occupied by the family itself consisting of husband, 42 years old, with 46, three sons, 18, 13 and 9, two daughters, 17 and 9, a daughter, 13, of another wife now divorced in her home, and, more or less constantly, the husband's younger brother, about 35, a co-owner of the property. There was also a servant girl, about 22 years old with two children, a 4 year old daughter and a 2 year old son. As a consequence of a crisis that had no entrance into the house was a great subject with several sons who, however, were not at home when I was there—a total of 13—17 persons. As opposed to the other village houses, which lay in terraces on the slope of the hill, the flat clay roofs of the lower houses forming an open space in front of those above them, Sheikh Ta'lat's house lay by itself. It was built of sun-dried clay brick on a stone foundation, plastered with a mixture of straw and clay. The roof was of poplar trunks with the addition of brushwood covered by a thick, hard-packed and rolled layer of clay. The house had six different levels of flat roofing. It lay above [34] [36] [37] [38] [39] [40] [41] [42] [43] [44] [45] [46] [47] [48] [49] [50] [51] [52] [53] [54] [55] [56] [57] [58] [59] [60] [61] [62] [63] [64] [65] [66] [67] [68] [69] [70] [71] [72] [73] [74] [75]

[77] wages from the work on the Dukan dam), water vessels, sacrificers, mill vessels, lighters, wash benches, transports, and granaries.

342 [343] A stone small house in the village of Bahia has been chosen as an example of the house owned the wife of the plain peasant woman. In it dwell a young couple and a daughter 3 years old. This house, like similar built of natural stone with short horizontal beams, one was 6 detached, being a part of several houses joined together and intended for several families. It was on sited against a steep slope that the building had two stories to the front, with the goat stable in the lower and a dwelling in the upper, to which there was direct access by a path from above. The roof was of the flat, slag-covered type, with a base of poplar trunks. The upper storey consisted of only one room closed by a heavy wooden door, plus a loggia, the floor of which formed the roof to the goats' stable. The rear wall was of natural stone along the side of the mountain. The roof was supported by a single poplar trunk at the outermost corner of the goats' stable. During the summer, the side room of the house was used as a locked store room in which was kept the family's harvest of dried mulberries and what the family owned in the way of kitchen utensils and metal and wooden chests. In the two weather the family lived on the roof, the loggia above the goats' stable. This loggia had a wall of brushwood at the exposed side, with the small door in front of the winter room. It was something between a loggia and a roof box.

[164] The clay roof was not only hard-packed and rolled but also glazed with a mixture of clay and chalk, a holiday peculiarity. This treatment of the roof had to be renewed each year and glazed anew every time water was split upon it. Glazing was women's work, and was performed as team work, each taking it in turn to help the other. There was absolutely no feminism in this milieu. Oil was lived on the floor, on the rag rolled out on the roof, and on the mattresses covered with flowered cotton placed along the wall which were used to sit on, the cylindrical pillows going as back rests. Clean is quite right when anyone: "One can be just as comfortable cowlight as daylight on the floor as in the chair". Cooking and baking facilities consisted of a cooking pit in the rear corner of the loggia outside the door to the only room in the house. Here the cooking pots and the ovenpot, smaller iron sheet, all or alike, on which the bread sheets, saj, was baked were placed on the fire. The cooking [342] [343] implements were not used here, since to the human function. Water, with the possibility of washing the persons, clothes and household utensils, was not found in the house or its immediate vicinity. Some distance away among the terraced houses against the hill was a covered, open-like washing place with common facilities for the women of the village. However, it was stated that the water current and a group of open streams—which led this "wash house" was so impure that it could not be used in the [363] household. Drinking water, then had to be fetched down in the valley—a climb of more than half an hour. From a waterfall in a wood. Here a small basin had been made of natural stone where the women could wash themselves and their clothes when down on their visits. The latrine in the house [364] was the goat stable. Cleaning was done with the sheep and suspended from a tripod. Across in the [373] roof, which was then an unpleasant discard of sheets, was at night closed by bulky brushes, as their mother the grey, long-haired sheepdog was safe from the opossums could find their way in.

Fig. 28. Lane in Sulaimani, left: wall of house inside, Right: wall of mud bricks.
Fig. 29. West wall with entrance to living room. Woman is rolling dough on a baking table, Sulaimani.

The home was to be reviewed as a type of residential background for the two feminine environments in urban surroundings, in the family house of my interpreter in Sulaimani. The father was a businessman who, as representative for a big firm in Baghdad, had a shop for electrical articles in the main street of Sulaimani. Although he resided in these modern things the business was fixed up like one of the larger booths in the city with a carpet-covered bench for the customers and a small working table for the proprietor—for example, just like a goldsmith's booth.

In addition to the husband, about 40, the family in this home consisted of two wives, 33 and 31, and eleven children. Of these they were sons: 20, 15, 9, 6 and about 4 months, and six daughters: one stepdaughter, 23, the others 23, 17, 14, 12 and 3. A 19 year old daughter was married and lived with her husband's family (joint or extended family household). Normally, then, 14 persons lived in the home.

Like the Shaikh property on Tripoleva, the home was an entity shut off from the world around although and resident in a detached house. It comprised one of a row of one-storied houses built together in the older quarter of Sulaimani, and looked out on an unpaved alley between windowless walls. The house consisted of an older part, built of sun-dried clay bricks, and of a newer section built of fired yellow bricks. Both parts had a roof of poplar rafters covered with brushwood and a rolled clay roof on top. The only difference between them was that the rafters of the older part of the house projected, as is the case in village architecture, like a strong cave for the protection of the clay roof, whilst the clay roof had almost no projection over the brick walls. The house was concentrated around a courtyard. Apart from the one entrance door it was completely shut off from the outside world. The entrance door was at one end of the wall of fired brick that shut

representatives of the "semi-urbanized" urban women, as likely as it did that of the women in the villages, but was difficult to reconcile with the lives of life of the fully and half-grown schoolgoing children. In fact a continued conflict existed between the original, normal type of life in the home, and the demand for fixed habits, fixed furnishing, necessary for the urbanized section of the family.

As an example of a new home intended solely for an urbanized urban woman we can take one planned by a young newly-married couple, both folkschool teachers. It was a miniature edition of my landowner's former hall or loggia, with a room for the reception of guests behind. Entrance to the bedroom was gained from the loggia, and thence to the storerooms. In front of these rooms was a closet with a cooking pit in the one corner and a stump in the centre. By the longer wall there was a kachel to the front of a bedded room. The bathroom in the neighbouring house could be used. There was no electric light. The guest room boasted wood furniture, and the loggia settlement to sit on were also intended for sleeping on at the end. The bedroom was furnished with a Baghdad suite consisting of a double bed, wardrobe and dressing table made of polished wood. When this urbanized couple's home was arranged at the time of marriage there was furniture in all rooms. If this home be compared with others where similar furniture had previously been found, it appeared that in the course of time, as the family increased, the flexible mode of life results in the disinclusion of regular furnishing. This had apparently been the case at the home of my interpreter, where the original marriage bed had been moved up to the roof for the changing use of the various members of the family, whilst the wash-table, filled with towels, was left in ordinary majesty. When planning the wedding of the grown-up son in my interpreter's home, where the couple was to live in the home of the bridegroom's father as members of an extended family, it was decided that the room where the family wardrobe stood and which during the rare it lived there had no other furniture, should be given to the young couple. The daughter-in-law would probably suppose a Baghdad bedroom suite as part of her bride wealth. In the young couple, after having been an independent family unit would, after the birth of the first child, divide - the women covering the woman's world of the home, the men the man's world outside - the furnishings would be reduced to the contrary, flexible, movable pattern.

The only possible solution of the problem of housing as large a number of family members in a home with especially on five rooms, is to use them in common both for meals and for sleeping. In

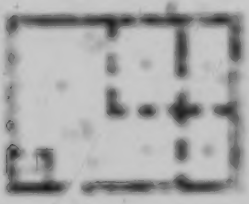

Fig. 11, (1) figg. 10 and 11). Conception of home for newly-married couple. Reference: Scale 1:200

a united living room, the room is sleeping room, a store room, or cooking and living (bedroom or storeroom) or (bedroom) ... 5 families in open room.

HOUSEHOLD ACTIVITIES IN RELATION TO FOUR FEMALE ENVIRONMENTS

village environment. In Tegaama the baking of bread takes place about three times weekly in the house's earth oven. This is attended to by three women at a time, mother, daughter and servant girl, or mother, daughter and a neighbour, who in addition also did her own baking in order to utilize the oven's capacity.

Goats, sheep and cows are milked by mother and daughter or Ohg in the early evening hours in the morning. When, in the summer, the sheep and goats are handed over to the care of the village shepherd, the servant girl goes out to the mountains twice a day, at about 11 a.m. and 3 p.m., with the other women of the village to meet the shepherd and his charges. After a meal daily in the home. Before is observed every morning. The churning work is being up on a basis in the conditioner or on a basis

Fig. 43. Woman smashing kaffir-corn for the Tegaama.

[illegible] in the wall just outside the way down to it. The pig used to hang up in the door opening here to the [illegible] common the supply for drinking cows out and water to drink. Sacks with water for sheep also [illegible] hung up out of doors. The daily production of butter is stored in the storeroom. Butter is only used [illegible] for cooking. The making of ran is always done by the daughter of the house, but in exceptional cases [illegible] a young male relative may assist. Extra supplies of meat, cucumber and vegetables may be brought [illegible] in by the men or sent by the boat-bus from Sukhumari.

Cooking is performed by the daughter of the house, but the food is prepared by the mother. Mother [illegible] and daughter go out into the mountains together to pluck vine leaves in the vineyards of the house, [illegible] and go together into the kitchen garden in front of the house to fetch vegetables (Tatyanova). The [illegible] daughters-in-law of the house go to the fruit garden to pick figs (Barbara). Water is found within the [illegible] premises of the house (Tatyanova, Bangalia).

Water is fetched by the children or the servant girl. In Mirza Rustam it is fetched from the river [illegible] by donkey and then emptied into pitcher sans in the courtyard.

The collection of fuel in the mountains is performed by the male servant of the house who has [illegible] with her an axe with a crescent-shaped blade, and a donkey. Charcoal is fetched by man with donkeys [illegible] (Tatyanova). Washing-up is done by the servants. There can be other male (Bangalia, Barbara) or female [illegible]

The washing of clothes is done by the women of the house assisted by the servants—the same applies [illegible] to ironing. Cleaning and bed-making is performed by all the women of the house in association.

To sum up, the activities that take place within the area of the house and those in its immediate neighbourhood, that is to say the kitchen garden, the orchard, vineyard etc. are attended to by the adult women of the village environment assisted by the children and servants available, the work being distributed as in Europe.

The activities taking place outside the precincts of the home, such as milking the sheep and goats [illegible] in the case of the village shepherd, are attended to by the servants of the house.

The ordinary village wells. The fetching of water to the wells once is undertaken simultaneously by several women from different houses. The wells were can be placed outside the house. At Mirza Rustam there was only on an open space between the houses. In Balkha and other places where two [illegible] doors were used instead of rooms, taking was done at home by the individual households alone.

The movements of wells. The women go out into the mountains or to the mulberry plantations when [illegible] during the day to meet the shepherd. In Balkha the women took turns in giving each other the [illegible] quantity of milk. Churning was done in each home, the churning pail being suspended from a frame [illegible] outside the house.

The making of ran could either be undertaken by women or by men.

Water was fetched in clay jars, pail-like and goat-skins from adjacent water basins far from the [illegible] houses by women. It would be a constant and troublesome affair as at Balkha, where 3-4 gumshins [illegible] had to be transported from the valley up to the village, the necessary water supply for 4-5 persons, [illegible] or as in Mirza Rustam when water in general has even to be fetched from the river over 300 yards from the village houses.

Sulaiman, who had to make some sacrifices and gifts on the occasion of the wedding, agreed one evening at my interpreter's home. He hung up in the courtyard the wedding *burnt* with which he would thoroughly beat the widow, converting the black grey lumps into white, very lasting. Later in the afternoon the bone-cracking widow was put into the room made by the women and the upholsterer then completed the sorting. This work, which took a whole day, was done in the women's section of the house. The upholsterer left notes during the day to have his meals in the town.

Very occasionally a lower caller, an old man, was admitted to the house to measure out for a quilted cotton. Certain goods, such as rugs, etc., were brought by vendors to be viewed. However, these men never entered the women's premises, never getting further than the front door, and when going out to see them the women tied a head cloth tightly round head and neck. The same thing happened when a man with three donkeys came up the three steps of the house into the tiled hall to unload the supply of wheat for the coming winter. This was brought in bags, sixteen pounds were weighed, and was unloaded behind the curb in the hall. I never saw the men whom in my interpreter's home go to a shower. During garden borders, on the day devoted to family visits, they accompanied their common husband on more visiting visits.

The part of their daily activities brought them outside the home or into contact with the man's world. Their contacts with the women's world in the town were on the other hand unlimited. This fourth Sunday environment thus maintained complete exclusion, that is to say them external ring, our Western world symbolizing with a position of bondage.

CONTRASTIVE DOMESTIC LIFE

The distribution of authority and man's position in the home. The family's economy among the village aristocracy was naturally grounded on by the men. It was also he who decided whether or not a 10 year old son could go on a family visit from Tripoline to Gabes or Baghdad. Equally, it obviously rested with the Shaikh of Tripoline to say whether or not he would accept me, my interpreter and her young brother on paying guests.

Like all rural women, the women of the village aristocracy were completely illiterate, whereas their husbands and sons had been able to acquire at all events some book learning. Despite lack of schooling a woman could be extremely intelligent. This was evinced by the way she arranged her complicated daily tasks and ran the home, children, and husband. Besides, she bore her job, was highly qualified domestically, worked as housewife and worker from an early age. Within the home she was certainly man's equal. The family rooms were her domain where the husband was accepted and shown the correct place. In the room where the child's intelligence was greater than the husband's, it is even quite relative the man could be said to possess an equal status in the home. Key suggests as much when writing about conditions in Southern Kurdistan: "Most chiefs are in a greater or less extent under the thumbs of their womenfolk."[1]

In regard to Sweden, that Western concept now which accepts are made to adapt features of an exactly different social pattern like the Islamic, it was to said the women of the village aristocracy were

and "love", being subjected to an electrically-practised seduction. The more they flee to shores that [illegible], but for their master the more more lure to no further case; both were subject to the decision of the family.

As mentioned earlier, women's realms of action in the humble village milieu extended over the whole place, and consequently they had far greater freedom of movement than their aristocratic village sisters. On the other hand, as far as I could see, they were not as much the equals of their husbands as were their social superiors. Very heavy labours rested on their shoulders; work that kept them engaged from dawn until late in the evening. Drawing water and fuel from afar, walking to the rice-fields, ploughing and harvesting, work in the fish plantations. Within this environment one can say that there was a lack of equality and a distribution of authority in favour of the men, mainly because the uneven sharing of the work put the women in an inferior position.

In regard to the advanced urban milieu in Seoul where both husband and wife were educated, a freedom of movement corresponding to that of humble village women existed in the case of the wife, that is to say as much so, but no more than, her work outside the home necessitated.

Within the unadvanced urban milieu there was no possibility of movement outside the home in connection with work, and liberty of movement resulting from social activities, and the daily visits between women, was controlled by veil and over-garment. Within the home the husband had the say as regard to the persons entering and leaving the home. In my interpreter's home—within the two which belonged to the unadvanced milieu, the husband forbad the summoning of a doctor during the influenza epidemic in the autumn of 1957, and refused to allow several persons in the family being taken by car to a doctor or hospital. It is difficult to say how strictly this injunction would have been respected had one of the patients been seriously ill.

During periods outside the husband permitted his younger wife, accompanied by an adult relative, one of the adolescent daughters and a baby, to pay a family visit to Pyongyang. The wife extended the visit by several days on her own initiative, the party proceeding with a brief call on another branch of the family. On the wife's return she was violently reprimanded for this by her husband. Here must a husband's position can be in a polygamous home with adult daughters was we fully explained. Faced by a settled hostility from of two wives and five daughters, and the visible and invisible aid from neighbouring homes, he was forced to bear an unconditional retreat. As Granet says about conditions in a Muslim home of the East: "L'homme y sortir sur l'ordre de ses femmes, et toutes celles des femmes voisins, et toutes celles de la ville ... exercent d'abondance, exercent et multiplient", and goes on to say: "... Ce silence tyran, à maître de femme, avait de pouvoir absolu et des droits de plus exorbitants, d'en proclamation le mari à plus mangé qui soit au monde ..."[4]. As I saw it, a woman belonging to the unadvanced urban milieu, continually in contact with neighbouring women, was in a considerably strong position, and the husband, despite the right of decision in many respects, in a correspondingly weaker one. On the other hand, when employing Western terminology, we must describe her seclusion as a manifestation of a state of bondage.

THE MAN'S POSITION IN THE HOUSE

The man's place in the home. The man's place in the home must be viewed in conjunction with the distribution of authority between men and women.

Within the village aristocracy the guest house was the man's particular domain. In addition, the realm of action was the world outside the home. He moved about the village, frequented tea-halls, paid visits to other villages and travelled to Baghdad, Kirkuk or Sulaimaniyah on business and pleasure. His freedom of movement was limited only by time, wage, and economic circumstances. At the same time he was a semi-partner in the life lived in the family section of the house. (This is in no sense a matter of concern, but it held no parallel in any of the other three millieux.) He not only ate and slept in the home, but also spent some hours of the day in the family circle. During the time I witnessed daily life in the Sheikh's home at Topzawa, I noticed that relations between husband and wives were warm, lively, and pleasant. The presence of two female strangers, my interpreter and I, passed off easily and naturally. Male relatives arriving on longer or shorter visits also joined the family life, and a common life existed in the other homes of the village aristocracy that I visited.

In the humble village millieu, on the other hand, the men spent few leisure hours with the other men of the village in the tea house or clustered with groups on the village bands. Village men donned shoes some evenings before a wedding in order to utilize some conveniences who had arrived. In the village millieu there were far greater possibilities for a male group life than obtained for the village aristocracy, and consequently the division between the worlds of men and women—so characteristic of Moslim areas—was circumscribed.

As they might a common life within the home was to be expected in the urbanized urban millieu, but there was surprisingly little of this. The men could be seen sitting in the street outside the tea houses, walking around together in the streets or in the park, which was only open to women on one day of the week when men were excluded. From the point of view of work, for example in the schools, there was in the urbanized urban millieu no division between the men's and women's worlds. The division arose in leisure hours when the women either paid or received visits or which we were never present. Mixed parties with married couples were unknown. The home was betrothed to the women in the leisure hours, the men spending their time with other men. During a visit my interpreter and I paid to one of her female colleagues, married to a male colleague, the husband was at home. He gave the impression of being entertainment to, and not quite happy about, the situation, adopted one of non-ridiculous for a European guest. On another occasion when several women teachers called, all colleagues of the wife, he was not present. As in the humble village millieu, the urbanized urban community split into two worlds outside working hours, each going its own way.

This division appeared to be passed down in the home of my interpreter. Here the father only occupied home to eat the meals and to spend the night. The rest of the time he passed in the small business in the town. He was a representative of a Baghdad firm that supplied electrical articles. His leisure

7: Earth 8-5 (1951) 1953 %11 Kurd %11

§§5 ably, the labour might even be borrow enough money to procure a
29: shoulder, and thus be in a position to take on more work and thus increase his income. When the labourer with access to such capital in fact does, however, is to become a tenant farmer by obtaining the minimal equipment necessary for farming. He then rises one notch in the class hierarchy, and may employ labourers in the peak season of the harvest.

A class distinction is thus constantly reinforced within each village by class dispositions of capital and labor, dividing it into the distinct groups of tenant farmers and labourers — sajwar (harvesters) in Kurdish terms. Prerequisite to being a tenant farmer is a minimum capital (1951) of ca. £ 10: 2 oxen at £ 10-15, plowing equipment £ 10, seed pr. dunum of land ca. £ 1. In addition comes the normal stock of productive animals for household use, of which the harvesters also generally have a certain number.

The frequency of tenant farmers doing all or a major part of the agricultural work themselves was not ascertained, but it is certainly quite high. Thus the daily routine of field labor, and similarly the organization of household units, is essentially similar for the two classes, the tenant farmers and the labourers.

This two-class distinction is sufficient as far as the tenant village is concerned. The landowner and his family, occupying a third class position, are usually residents of a nearby larger town. In the tribal village, a similar two-class distinction tends to grow up between freeholding tribal farmers and conquered non-tribal tenants, though often the situation becomes more complex (see below).

HOUSEHOLDS

• 77; [76] The division of labor in the village is due to a certain extent regulated by a two-class system. But the main division of economic roles and responsibilities is found within each household unit. The household is economically independent, and consists typically of one elementary family: husband, wife, and their children. Among these, the economic roles are distributed along the same lines that will be familiar from rural Europe. It should be unnecessary to enumerate these in detail. The male finds most of his work in the fields, he

The male Kurds spend most of his work on the fields, but he also has the privilege of looking after the home. The other animals are tended by the women, who do the milking and preparing of food, and other household duties, including total plastering of the house interior every fall. The roof on the other hand is kept in repair by the men. In the busy season the women also assist in the fields, especially during the grain harvest and in tobacco picking. The smaller children share in these home tasks, and, among less well-to-do people at least, serve as shepherds for the smaller flocks. There is also a series of smaller jobs, such as collecting dung for fuel about the yards and cow-sheds.

Table II.

COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLDS IN FOUR KURDISH VILLAGES

	non-tribal		tribal		totals
	Barzan Kurd	Gundesen	Barzan Kurd	Tiyari	
widow and children	5	10	0	0	15
elementary family					
(and plural wives)	29	25	7	6	67
" " husband's mother	5	5	1	5	6
" " husband's mother and unmarried siblings	1	1	—	—	2
" " husband's unmarried siblings	—	2	1	1	4
" " husband's father and unmarried siblings	2	—	—	—	2
patrilineal extended family	2	4	1	1	8
other (incomplete families)	—	3	2	1	6
Total number of families					110

The general form of the Kurdish village households may be seen in Table II. Only 10 % of the households could be called patrilineal extended families, ca. 71 % consisting of an elementary family or a group of dependents maintained by an elementary family. Each household is an independent economic unit, except for a certain amount in the form of the obligation to support survivors in

• [illegible] case of homosexuality and incest. This obligation supposedly pertains to nearest agnatic male relatives, but practice is in fact very elastic, and follows considerable arguments of weakness and means.

Since each household is generally based on one elementary family, the marriage tie is the pivot on which household organization rests. [illegible] The verbalized theory on choice of spouse is quite simple. A man decides he wants to marry a certain girl — any girl. He chooses a reliable representative — preferably an older male relative — and the representative visits the father of the girl and makes the proposition. Considerable subtle diplomacy is performed by both sides in fixing a tentative bridegrice. If the young man accepts the price, proportions present. The importance of the representative is evidently considerable. In one case, a laborer who was a transient in the area chose to send two representatives he did not know very well to a potential father-in-law whom he in fact knew better. The latter seems to be in the better bargaining position of an outsider — he is freer to relegate the virtues of the groom.

[illegible] Theoretically, you may propose to marry any girl. In practice, there is a strong preference for FaBrDa marriage. Certainly a FaBrDa is considered to have first right of refusal. The case of the above mentioned transient laborer brings out the point: He was refused because, said the girl's father «I am afraid my brother's sons will kill me if I give her to you.»[1])

The rationalizations and manifest reasons for the preferential marriage pattern are of several types. The father's interest in his daughter is used as an explanation for his preference of a BrSo as a son-in-law: he knows the nephew's possible shortcomings, which reduces the risk of mis-matching; furthermore, he would be able to exert some influence over the groom after marriage, through the agnatic kinship tie, to protect his daughter's interests. It is further usually said that it is customary for the nephew to pay only a

[1]) The same transient laborer had at a previous occasion in northern Iraq been refused a girl on similar grounds, although in this case he determined to murder her if she was not given to him. The girl was indeed killed shortly afterwards, and the laborer spent a period of time in jail till he was released due to lack of evidence.

419 law, the Beneljee are such a branch, which has split off from the parent, Shaikh 'Imail tive. The Shaxi group of tives, on the other hand, are all sons of one father, and so one of the tive takes precedence. Such groups have more than mere legendary unity. Firstly, as shareholders, they have the right of inheritance to each others' pastures and campsites, in the case of one of the tive dying
423 out. There is also a minimum of political coordination: in the case of war or other far-reaching decisions, the leaders of all Shaxi tive meet in a council. So that no one of them should have an advantage, this council meets in the tent of a rich follower, not in the tent of any one Rais. The council reaches agreement by discussion, and has, as a body, no formal powers.

421 *KHEL.* Through the tive holds grazing rights in common, it will rarely camp in one unit, but generally divides into several separate encampments, each called a *khel*. The *khel* may vary in size and composition, but may roughly be regarded as a lineage segment. It is, however, held together by economic as well as lineage ties. Hired shepherds etc. may thus belong to a specific *khel* without being members of the *jal ashiret*, an economic partnership between persons of different lineage segments may temporarily influence *khel* membership. The *khel* is led by an older man, more or less informally elected or granted authority because he is the person with the greatest power and prestige. The *khel* is thus primarily a residence unit, and is less permanent in its composition than the larger units which are based on descent only.

HOUSEHOLDS. Each *khel* encampment is made up of a number of households, frequently some 20—30, each inhabiting a separate tent.
• 422 The households seem to have roughly the same size and composition as those of the sedentary village Kurds, described above. If a father can afford the necessary expenses in tent and utensils, he will set up an independent household for his married son. Poor people, on the other hand, may find this impossible. — Marriage is preferably with FaBrDa or other close relatives, very rarely outside the tive. Brideprice varies from £ 200 to occasionally nothing in the case of close relatives. Payment may take any form, either in kind or cash, but is computed in terms of money.

7: Barth 8-5 (1951) 1953 MAII Kurd MAII

771 then at present. The route from the Sulaimani area went by caravan
999 to Basra in the Persian Gulf, by ship to Jiddah (or even by caravan across the Arabian peninsula) and on foot from Jiddah to Mecca — involving often more than a full year of travel. Today, the time expended is in the neighborhood of two months, travel being by bus to Baghdad and across to Beirut, ship through the Suez to Jiddah, and bus up to the walls of Mecca. Total expenses average some £ 200. The pattern is generally one of group travel — in 1948, a group of approximately 60 persons from the Sulaimani area journeyed together.

777 The moral-religious status connected with the title of *Hadji* is of negligible importance. There is some feeling that in situations of petty conflict, a *Hadji* should arrange to mediate, and that higher moral standards are to be expected from him. More important is its connections with wealth as a type of conspicuous consumption, and in this it parallels the widely distributed type of honorific title dependent on having gone through a «pre-Inshe series of feasts»[1]). However, in the competitive and informal Kurdish village organization, the honorific title of *Hadji* is not by itself of any appreciable consequence in the de-facto power hierarchy, and must be supported by a continued position of relative wealth.

KINSHIP

• 772 In addition to the formal hierarchies governing the political, the economic, and the religious fields, there remains the field of kinship. It might be pointed out that the household organization, and attendant kinship obligations, described above pp. 29 ff, represents a hierarchical organization of basically the same type, but relating to a unit smaller than the village, in contrast with the other, more extensive organizations. Needless to say, the patriarch of a large household gains prestige and is vested with de-facto power by

[1]) An example from a culturally and geographically parallel area is offered by the Kafirs of Afghanistan, where the whole social structure of the village community is based on a hierarchy of such honorific titles, attained by giving stipulated numbers of feasts (cf. G. S. Robertson, 1896, pp. 474 ff).

• 592 virtue of his position in the household — prestige and power that contributes very significantly to his total status in the village community.

SCALES

539 I have used the term office for an actual formal position in an organizational hierarchy; status and part-status for this position *and* the prestige that belongs with it. In a system where the rights and privileges connected with a political office are not clearly defined, and a separation of a person's private vs. official capacities is impossible, the power of a political official, or other person in a status hierarchy, will in large part depend on the particular person holding the position. In a sense, there is negligible prestige attached to the position itself; an individual must, in his private capacity, embody the prestige that is necessary to fill the position successfully. Thus the variegated sources of prestige *outside* the formal hierarchies become important to an understanding of how the formal structure functions in the village.

One may, as suggested above, profitably think in terms of certain *scales* by which persons are evaluated, high rating on these scales conferring prestige to the individual. Such scales are of several types, some connected with the life cycle of the individual, or related to the degree to which certain attributes are found in a person, others measuring the degree to which an individual approaches a certain ideal stereotype in his behavior. They may in part define conflicting or mutually exclusive ideals. — Put differently, this means that the prestige derived from high rating on one of these scales may be particularly relevant in a certain organization or role, as in the case of sanctity and its relation to the *Shaikh* status. Other scales are more universally applicable, as that of relative age. However, no matter what its sources may be, *the prestige of a person qualifies him for a certain relative power position in the village, potentially or actually formalized as a named status position.*

Obviously, any number of these scales may be constructed, and the present list pretends to do little more than summarize certain

8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MAll Kurd MAll
Rowanduz

In the ideal, the Kurdish family which maintains ortho-cousin marriage and does not require the wife to change her place of residence on marriage forms what may be termed a "fraternal" group. Brothers are close neighbours or even share the same house. They frequently work their landholdings jointly, perhaps even in cooperation with their cousins. The marriage of ortho-cousins clearly serves to simplify and perpetuate such cooperation. Moreover in such a case the bride-price, whatever its nominal amount - and the Kurds are keen to flatter their wives by asserting that they have paid a quite fabulous price for them, - is in practice nothing but a sort of book entry, a transfer of assets from the right hand to the left. Even where the marriage to father's brother's daughter does not take place, there is still a strong tendency for a man to marry a girl from his own village - i.e. a classificatory "ortho-cousin" - if for no other reason than that the Agha must approve of all marriages and he has an obvious interest in keeping the group as closely unified as possible. Besides, a man of the commoner class would normally have comparatively few opportunities of either meeting or bargaining for a girl from another village, still less for a girl of another clan or tribe. Startling rumours and elopements do take place, but they are the exception and are usually followed by a long and bloody trail of vengeance. For the commoner the general rule of marriage within the taifa is fairly well maintained. In this connection the building of the road will probably have important consequences for the Balik in the near future, since the ordinary tribesman can now much more readily make contact with groups other than his own immediate kinsfolk.

Marriage of Aghas

The foregoing applies however only to the marriage arrangements of commoner families (kawasy). Quite different are the conditions that govern the marriage of the son of an Agha. Mohammedan law permits a man to have four wives at a time, and to effect divorce simply by the pronouncement of the word taleq three times. In practice scarcely any of the commoners among the Balik can afford more than one wife, and polygyny is the almost exclusive prerogative of the Aghas. The marriage to father's brother's daughter serves to simplify and concentrate the inheritance of cattle, implements and other items of 'capital' equipment within the economic working unit of the group household and to avoid friction over the inheritance of tenancy rights. But the Agha is not swayed by considerations of inheritance since, in the limited sense already described, he 'owns' all the available land anyway and there is no question of splitting up the territory at death. His aim rather is to gain prestige and live at peace with his neighbours. We find therefore that the marriages of Aghas tend to take the form of political alliances, rather after the style of the royal marriages of mediaeval Europe. Sheikh Mohammed Agha of Balesh for instance, who in the course of a long life has had 9 wives and 15 surviving children, appears to be related either by marriage or

622 38
592 through the marriage of his sons to nearly every important Lesdan, tribal, religious,or townsmen, within fifty miles radius. Here humble Aghas are content with one or two alliances with neighbouring notables, while the rest of their offspring are married off to members of their own community, thus further strengthening the bonds of kinship between the Agha and his followers. It is interesting to examine the effect of this in greater detail.

> Sheikh Mohammed of Balosh was one of 9 surviving brothers he himself has had nine wives and has six surviving sons, and several daughters

> Mir Ismail Amin of Dergala has had 6 wives and 24 children of which there survive 9 sons and 5 daughters.

If we consider the male side of the town only, it would appear that the average reproduction rate of a "princely" Agha is of the order of 6 surviving sons. If we assume that the total population of the villages remains very roughly stationary we must reach the conclusion that the effective birthrate is very heavily loaded in favour of the Aghas. The effect of this would seem to be that in many of the smaller villages the Agha is not only of the same clan as nearly everyone but actually quite closely related to about half the population. I was unable to make any accurate census of a village but my observations at "Balosh were I think reasonably accurate, and tend to confirm this calculation.

622 There appeared to be twelve separate households, of which four
• 592 are accounted for by the Agha's fortress and the establishments of his third and fourth married sons and of a brother. [The two eldest sons have been established as Aghas in their own right over neighbouring villages]. The population I estimated at ninety, in the proportion twenty five men, thirty women, thirty five children. The Aghas household appeared to consist of about twenty persons including his younger children and personal servants; while the households of his married sons and his brother contained about eight persons each. In this case therefore quite half the population of the quad was in immediate kinship or economic relationship with the Agha. The case may be exceptional, but serves to explain why a rental of 5% of the yield of the land does not in practice prove entirely extortionate.

622 Comparison of these observations and those of Bay

614 The foregoing account shows the interrelationship of the
114 political and kinship organisation among the Dalik Kurds. As a commentary upon sociological method it is interesting to note what

"This village would appear to be fairly average so far as size is concerned, though centres such as Dergala and Barge are vastly larger. Balosh however is in some respects the private fortress of Sheikh Mohammed and its kinship organisation may not be typical.

8: Leach E-S (1958) 1960 Will Hurd Will
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Land Ownership, House Construction and Fluidity

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The indications are that land resources are for the most part as fully utilized as present technical equipment permits; the amount of marginal land that could be brought into cultivation merely by an increase in economic inducement is small. Except on the scattered swampy areas (Dalua where conditions are too severe, chert is cultivated wherever the land is sufficiently level to work a plough, and where shallow permits subsidiary cultivations such as vines are carried far up into the steep hill face. Since there is clear evidence that the food supplies grown are only barely adequate for the needs of the community it may be postulated that the existing population approximates to the maximum that can be supported by the present economic system.

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Land scarcity appears the most plausible explanation for the very curious form of architecture adopted in this region. The villages are always constructed on a steep hill which could have no possible agricultural utility. They are not constructed at the top of the hill as defence considerations might seem to suggest but on the side of it immediately above the level plough land at the bottom of the valley. Sometimes on at Bolnak and at Bayet the houses are clustered together in an almost solid block; elsewhere they are grouped into a number of individual clusters, the situation of these visible structures seeming to bear some correlation with the degree of kinship unity within the village. As can be seen from photograph No. 5 the houses in a particular cluster are frequently built one above the other in a series of terraces so that the roof of one house forms the front porch of the one below. The house block shown in the photograph was occupied by two brothers and their families. These occupied the two top buildings. The bottom building though also originally a dwelling house was at the time of my visit being used as a store house for both families. And this is an exceptional case; a single block of buildings such as this is usually found to be occupied by a group of near relatives functioning for the most part as a joint economic group. In view of the obvious inconvenience of such close proximity it would hardly be otherwise. If however economic developments of the future tend to accentuate the rights of the individual as opposed to those of the kinship group we may expect the complementary development of a more individualistic style of architecture. On the other hand the existing type of joint dwelling house is a factor which complicates any effort on the part of the Ngha to reorganise the system of land tenure and cultivation on lines of greater efficiency.

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One may remark perhaps that in the plains where the whole agricultural emphasis is upon wheat production and where the limitations of water supply radically affect the whole economic organisation of the community, not only the arrangement of the villages but the actual technological construction of the houses is totally different from that of the hill districts. What follows applies only to the villages of the

[illegible]